1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Cajabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kuwau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

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531 Black zig-zags on a grayish background were painted on the body of one
302 of the singers. Many designs were undoubtedly conventionalized, but seemingly not according to rigid standards.

All of these designs were observed on men. The women painted themselves much less often, and their patterns were far simpler. Blackened foreheads and black streaks on the thighs were most common. The latter looked as if the women had merely wiped their hands on their thighs after having painted their husbands.

Children also had their bodies painted. Some of the boys blackened their faces or had black dots put on their chests. One little girl had black angles painted on her cheek by her mother. Children's and women's body designs were simple and required little paint. The men reserved most of the paint for themselves.

A husband's painting was often done by his wife, but men frequently adorned themselves or another man, particularly a younger close relative. There may also have been specialized knowledge of certain designs. Only one man was said to be able to make the zig-zag snake pattern, and he painted it on the bodies of others.

Work Patterns

461 Accompanying the low degree of specialization and cooperation in
512 production was a lack of rhythm in the work habits of the Trumaí. The day started at about three or four o'clock in the morning. At this time many persons got out of their hammocks to fan their fires and huddle around them, for these were the chilliest hours. The men might get together at this time and talk while the women prepared food. Not much work was done then. At most, a man might add some thatch to his house. By sunrise everyone was awake, and the women went in a [515] body to a nearby arm of the lagoon to bathe and draw containers of water. The men usually went to bathe a little later in pairs or alone. After bathing, everyone ate, and the work day really began.

Those who intended to garden went out early and labored until ten or eleven o'clock, that is, while it was cool and insects were less trouble- [264] some. As a rule, they ate again upon returning and then stayed in the village the rest of the day, working at various crafts as the spirit moved them. Actually a good deal of time was spent loafing and sleeping.

Those who planned to fish started out in the morning, but usually after the gardeners had departed. Unless a two or three day trip was planned, they commonly returned by four o'clock, and always before dark. Occasionally a group of men and women went to the lagoon to [258] spend a day or two making salt.

One of the striking features of Trumaí economic activity was the number of different tasks done by various people on the same day.

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Aloari

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[563]

Yanahi

Kokumu, Suyá Woman

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PLATE IV

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302

Yawala

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Mother and Child in Hammock

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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but the frequent repetitions and the small number of pitches made accompaniment possible, and their voices fell consistently into the fourth interval below those of the men. The women, however, enjoyed their role thoroughly and gave far better support than the men, who made little effort to coordinate their activities. 796 243 533

The songs were arranged in a series of three verses. Each time a new house was entered, the singer started a new series. Matiwana's songs were more elaborate than Nitvary's. Occasionally the old man would make a mistake and have to start the verse over again, but these lapses merely amused him. The only musical instrument used was the tapir hoof rattle. [534]

Quain gives no detailed information on the dances involved, but apparently they were simple, and perhaps partially improvised. Nitvary was the sole person to take special pains with his toilet before leading a dance. At such a time he usually wore a feather headdress and painted his body ornately. [535] [302]

One of the more important parts of the *ole* ceremony was the complex of activities surrounding the *ole* posts. A few days after the ceremony began several poles were brought into the clearing just outside the village, and the bark was peeled from them. They were rubbed with white clay and painted in colored designs. Each man placed the pole he had decorated upon his shoulders and brought it into the village with shouts and singing. With the poles on their shoulders, they danced about the village, finally placing their burdens upright in holes that had been dug previously in the village plaza. The children helped by packing dirt around them. The women then smeared red *urucú* dye on the bases of the poles and just below the upper ends. Tufts of cotton were put on top by both men and women. An offering in the form of fish on *beijú* was placed in front of the posts. Later in the afternoon, and early every afternoon for the next two weeks, the men ate together among these poles. Their attitude in this ceremonial milieu was certainly not one of special reverence, for they draped two blankets Quain had given them over the posts for shade. 796 243 [386] [782]

Nearly every day additional food offerings were placed in front of the posts. One post was given special attention. This was Nukekerehe, which was said to be malignant. However, fear of Nukekerehe was mixed with jokes. Quain was told one night that the men would not go to bed until he did, for if he stayed up long Nukekerehe would surely eat him. Weeks later, when the posts were pulled up and brought into the houses of their owners, the man carrying this pole stamped his feet at the children and pretended anger, much to everyone's amusement. On one occasion Matiwana performed a ritual in which he was apparently acting the part of Nukekerehe. He made wrathful noises and jumped about in front of the post, before which were two bowls of manioc soup. [782] 796 243 522 [242]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuth*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakuí* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 355.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Changes in status and expected behavior were connected with the transition to manhood, and new modes of participation in the culture were open to the young man. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the transition consequent upon increased age and that which resulted specifically from passage through the life crisis rites. Ideally, such a distinction should not have existed, as the achievement of physical maturity should have been heralded by the socio — religious observances. But there were two young married men, Yanahi and Aloari, who had not completed the ritual — the former because of disinclination, the latter due to the delay caused by his captivity among the Yuruna. Aloari, although both vocal and aggressive, and having the men's haircut, was definitely not one of the men's group yet. His smoking was only of the "lying" kind. He still needed the ritual admittance to the smoking group. Yanahi, on the other hand, still had the youthful haircut, but, for unknown reasons, was already a full-fledged member of the men's group. He was frequently seen with the adolescent boys, however, and his activities were characterized by a youthful lack of gravity. His history shows that there was no sudden break with boyhood among the Trumaí. The puberty rites were spread over a long enough time to allow a slow incorporation into the adult world.

Upon reaching man's estate, the young man became an integral part of the household and village economies. To be sure, property attitudes had been developed early, but he now had a greater opportunity to express them, inasmuch as he was able to participate in the upper Xingú trade system and thus accumulate more personal possessions. His entrance into the men's circle gave him a larger voice in community affairs, but at the same time it involved him in many village squabbles, which were intensified by his search for sexual partners or a wife. Also, among his added responsibilities was the defense of the village.

In short, the status of the newly arrived man brought greater economic independence and a fuller participation in the social and ceremonial life of the community. In return for his heightened importance he was expected to act with sobriety and self-reliance, to show courage and fortitude, and to be more aggressive in asserting his new rights and prerogatives. This last was largely a matter of degree, for Quain had been impressed at the extent to which children asserted themselves and shared the mannerisms and attitudes of adults.

Female Puberty

The only data available on female puberty observances concern the first menses (*waeipanes*), when the girl is confined for a period during which she wears her hair over her face. Rodrigues Ferreira, in commenting on a Trumaí girl in seclusion, states that she must remain in her

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such tranagressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumai swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axoesk* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axoesktsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172/, closer to the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all [291] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces [302] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their [289] heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all [411] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There [101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/192 cont./

123 609 It was necessary to make another attempt; since our Indian was apparently not adequate, Antonio was induced to make a speech in Bakaïrí. After a little shy resistance, he took heart and shouted across energetically that he was a Bakaïrí, and that the Bakaïrí are good, and that the Trumaí are also good, and that the Bakaïrí were friendly to the Trumaí, that therefore the Trumaí should also be friendly to the Bakaïrí. Actually, he made himself heard for a moment, but the Trumaí realized at once that they did not understand him and outshouted the poor soul, whose voice died away. Hold on, I remember two Trumaí words which the Kustenaú chief had told me: apirí, /Illustration appears here/ /193/ "friend," and meijú, our beijú, the mandioca bread. With a truly stentorian voice I therefore cry: "Apirí Trumaí, meijú Trumaí, apirí." If my purpose had been to fan the storm, I could have been satisfied. The effect was dazzling. My words came back in the loudest echo; I had definitely spoken [262] good Trumaí. From the bottom of the canoe they fetched the beijús, which have the shape of large pancakes baked in a pan, [302] and waved this token of peace in the air. Particularly the chief shouter, a young man painted brick-red from head to toe, talked with great enthusiasm about such a cake which he seemed to be demonstrating and explaining like a professor in a classroom.

Some success was noticeable, however; they were quarreling among themselves. The brick-red one was obviously inclined to [302] break off the preliminaries and to enter into closer acquaintance; but one canoe in particular, with three tall, uncanny, coal-black ones, decidedly refused and implored the other heroes not to listen to the words of that demagogue. But the opposition was overruled. Three of our men climbed into a canoe and rowed into the midst of the hostile fleet, laughing kindly and talking; that won their hearts. Still parleying a bit, they approached the shore and [152] finally landed. The black or red, ugly faces, whether the more so by artifice or by nature I do not know, grinned happily in our direction; each of us took one of the fellows by the arm, whereupon a second man of theirs quickly took his other arm; thus we strode, fraternally united, to our campsite.

[Text Continues on P. 176]

/171 cont./

B
302 The lashes were plucked, especially among the Nahuquá until the last trace had disappeared. The same was true of the beard hair. We often, however, came across a moderate mustache or chin beard, occasionally even a cheek beard, mostly among the Kamayurá. Underarm and pubic hair was also plucked out.

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142 The facial type of the individual tribes showed certain differences which are difficult to define. There is a Bakaïrí face which I would be confident about not confusing with a face of any other Kulisehu tribe, but which has the greatest similarity with the Karaiben of the Guianas. I would immediately take for a Bakaïrí a Karaiber Apiaká /Apiaca/ of the Tokantíns whom Ehrenreich photographed. Other Bakaïrí, however, could also belong to any of the other Kulisehu tribes on the basis of their physiognomy. The more Indians one became acquainted with, of course, the more uncertain one became. The Bakaïrí or Karaiben face that I am referring to almost has a European structure, the prognathism is slight, the forehead not high but well rounded, the nose has a somewhat wide bridge, pronounced alae, a rounded tip, wide upper lips, the eyes are beautifully almond-shaped and full. On the other hand, there is a second Bakaïrí type with strong prognathism, a markedly receding chin, low, sloping forehead, and a rather long nose with aquiline bridge, which we noticed particularly among the Bakaïrí of the Paranatinga. A peculiar specialty of the third Bakaïrí village was the distinct Jewish physiognomies. The photogravure Plate 13½/172/ shows us the best representative of this variety, who owed his name "Izzy" to our travel mood. Izzy was the smallest Bakaïrí, but very agile and strong and, as may be seen in the photograph, equipped with a powerful chest; he had black curly hair, a broad-bridged, aquiline nose, and would probably not be taken for an Indian by a naïve person. If there are people today, aside from the Mormons, who would have the children of Israel immigrating to America and being the tribal fathers of the redskins, they may take Izzy's picture as excellent documentary proof. Probably a few Egyptians also joined the caravan of lost tribes; at any rate, a few women in their hair style,

A² [See P. 138--Analyst]